# The Oregon Statesman

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## SOME "LAST WORDS" SPOKEN BY WARREN G. HARDING YESTERDAY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH THE PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 28.—Warren G. Harding said here today:

"I know pretty well that the American people are thinking of calling the Republican party back to service in the nation. The American people have always turned to the Republican party in their hour of anxiety and distress and are turning to it this year for relief at Washington and throughout our governmental institutions. I have very strong conviction that you are going to elect a Republican President of the United States. But I warn you, don't do it UNLESS YOU INTEND TO PUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER IN CONGRESS as well as in the executive office.

"There is a very unusual situation in the world.

"Humanity is trying to find itself once more.

"Civilization has been in a state of flux and no man or woman knows yet what the crystallization is going to be on the morrow. If we are to have a preserved civilization, if the world is going to face about on the right forward track again, there is a great responsibility on our Republic, where we have proven representative democracy, to point a safe and sane way for aspiring mankind.

"I would not want to be your President UNLESS YOU ARE GOING TO GIVE US A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS to translate Republican promises into legislative enactments. If I am going to serve you, I want the Government to have the machinery with which to serve, and I promise you that under Republican administration the CONGRESS IS GOING TO RESUME ITS CONSTITUTIONAL FUNCTIONS. It is very important to have a majority in the United States Senate, and you ought always to think of the Senate as saving to you your American liberty.

"Don't be distressed about the so-called Senatorial oligarchy.

"There isn't any.

"I think we would have succeeded this year in harmonizing the Senate into a completely useful agent if it had not been for the interference of the chief executive who was not satisfied with running his own end of Pennsylvania avenue

"We ought to have been thinking more of the Constitution and less of the covenant. We ought to have been concerned with American nationality, not paralyzing internationality. We ought to have been concerned with America's policy for America and not an European policy for the United States of America. We ought to have been giving attention to our problems at home, to putting the American house in order, instead of trying to build a temple of super-government across the sea.

### Stand Never Changed

"'Oh,' they say, 'you can not tell where Harding stands on the League.' Well, let me see if I can tell you where I stand. I am at least entitled to speak for myself. I have been speaking since the 2nd of last July, and I challenge any Democrat in America, high or low, to find a contradiction in anything I have said.

"I said in the beginning that we were opposed to an armed military alliance with the Old World, and I say it now. I have said frequently and I say now, that we are never going to have anything to do with the League with Article X in it. We are not going to enter into a super-givernment of the world. We are not going to allow a Council of foreign powers in Geneva to tell us what we must do to fulfill our obligations. Having made this great Republic ourselves, we still think we are capable of going on and performing our obligations to the world. I have said repeatedly that America does not intend to accept THAT LEAGUE. It is true, that as a member of the United States Senate, I voted to ratify the Peace Treaty and the League covenant with reservations, but where I voted, there were attached to the covnant reservations to safeguard the independence of the United States. They were not designed to 'make clearer our obligations,' but to limit our obligations. And the reservations we wrote we insisted upon the world accepting before our membership in the League should become binding.

### Would Require Big Army

"We do deeply and sincerely sympathize, but when we come to look into the situation—and I speak officially because it was my fortune to be the chairman of the committee that held hearings on the subject—we found that acceptance of an American mandate for Armenia would require from 70,000 to 100,000 American boys to be planted nearly 6000 miles away, in the very gateway between the Occident and Orient, in the pathway of all the wars since recorded civilization began; planted over there to involve America in all the conflicts of envy and jealousy and rivalry and centuries old hatreds of the Old World. I tell you, my countrymen, we are not going to do it.

"Then, there was Article X, which is a very simple thing, they say—proclaimed 'the heart of the League.' I know it is the heart of the League—the steel heart, hidden beneath a coat of mail. Article X creates a world government, puts America in alliance with four great powers to rule the world by force of arms and commits America to give her sons for all the battlefields of the Old World. It says member nations undertake to respect the territorial integrity of each other and to preserve that territorial integrity from outside aggression, and it further provides that the Council of the League shall advise as to how this compact shall be carried out. I have not quoted the words literally, but nobody will challenge my expression on the meaning of Article X.

### What Does This Mean?

"And what does this all mean? It means that whenever any member nation of the League is attacked from without, then the council of nine, sitting in Europe, may call for armed forces for defense and can say to the United States: 'Send over 100,000 of your boys.' They could do that if we had joined the President's League, because we would have taken a solemn covenant. We would have plighted American honor to keep faith with the compact. Some people say, 'Mr. Harding, you are wrong. American armies cannot be sent abroad without the authority of Congress.'

"I agree that that is a fact, if we live under the Constitution. But we HAVE sent them—we sent them into Russia without a declaration of war. But the covenant would become the basic contract of America. We would plight our faith with the Old World. Suppose the council of the League were to make a call and we failed to respond? This Republic would be stained with national dishonor; and I do not want a contract for America which we do not intend to keep. I want to save American boys and American honor at the same time. I want America to decide, not according to a compact with the world, but in accordance with American conscience.

### Never Failed The World

"America has never failed the world. Talk about deserting our Allies! Why, we never had any alliance with them. We did not go to war to remake the world; we went to war to save our present civilization and protect American rights. If we had been making warfare for democracy, we ought to have speeded up a little. If we were making war for humanity's sake, we ought not to have postponed it until so many of humanity had been sacrificed.

"I BELIEVE IN KEEPING OUT OF WAR; and I believe in keeping out of war not only in campaign years, but in the years between campaigns. I want to see the world approximate to disarmament. Somebody has said: 'Here is the spectacle of America, this great Republic, deserting our Allies, deserting suffering humanity in the Old World; America is failing to keep her trust.'

"Talk about breaking the heart of the world! America is healing the heart of the world. But even if the heart-breaking tragedy were true, I would rather break the heart of the world than destroy the soul of American nationality.

"I have said from July 2 until now, and I repeat it to you, and I know I speak what is in your hearts—**America means to play her part in a new relationship among the nations of the world.** America does not object; she **wants** an association. America wants to bring the world conscience to common understanding. America wants to turn the light of world opinion on probable controversies of causes of conflict. America **wants** to join the nations of the world in **promoting and preserving peace.** I have said I favor that sort of thing; I **say it now,** but I will never have it at the cost of surrendering American sovereignty. I will never have it at the cost of surrendering American freedom or American pride in accomplishment of American independence.

### Willing To Take the Lead.

"And I know, my countrymen, that the world, noting the failure of the Paris League—which is existing, but not functioning—the world, recognizing that American leadership is essential and must be had if we are to have a workable association among nations, to be directed by the light of justice rather than the sword of force, **expects** America to take the lead **and we are willing to do it.**

"I have not prescribed the specific thing, because I have not yet come into authority. I do not pretend to prescribe the specific thing myself. A one-man covenant is what brought about the failure of the first attempt. I am not the sort of candidate who believes he can run the world. **I am going to need help in the United States.** I have said repeatedly, and I say now—and you find an inconsistency if you can—that after I am elected **I am going to consult the women** as well as the men. If there is to be a new and ideal condition in the world, we want something of woman's intuitions and aspirations therein.

"And reactionary and old fashioned as it is, I am going to consult and advise with the United States Senate.

Our problem, with the world turning to us for leadership and expecting America to point the way is, first, to harmonize sentiment in America and find out from the meeting of many minds what this country is willing to stand back of and support. I cannot tell you this moment precisely what that is. I can only promise you that when we come into power **we will seek to play our part,** and we will lead the world without in any way sacrificing the essentials of America. Then we will give of our abundance, our influence, our example, aye, of our commanding position in the world, to a new order that looks toward disarmament, toward maintaining and preserving the peace of the world. But I promise you, my countrymen, none of this at the expense of surrendering the American conscience; none of this at the cost of substituting some conglomerate thing for the Stars and Stripes of our own United States of America."

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Read "Oligarchy or Democracy" on this page.

The Statesman will both flash and megaphone the election news on Tuesday night next.

Mr. Harding does not want to be elected president of the United States unless he is given a congress to work with him in redeeming the pledges of his party. He says so himself. See his "last word" article on this page.

In making predictions as to the result next Tuesday, remember that only about 75 per cent of the registered voters will vote. Funny, isn't it, that so many people will take all the trouble of registering, and then not go to the polls at all?

Albert Loughridge has very carefully prepared the article which appears on this page, and very ably, too. It is headed "Oligarchy or Democracy." It deserves the very careful reading of every one—every line of it. This is a matter that is bound to recur in American discussion in the future—again and again. This article deserves to be clipped and filed away in your scrap book.

The "last words" article of Warren G. Harding, on this page, is intended for the reading of every American voter—and it will receive such reading by millions. Mr. Harding stands just where he has stood all along—and goes a little further; for he proposes to consult the good women of the United States, as well as the good men, in helping to formulate measures to disarm the world and bring an era of peace that will be permanent.

A life long Democrat came to the office of The Statesman yesterday and paid a year's subscription in advance for the Daily. He said he was still a Democrat, of the Cleveland type; that he believed in all the principles of the Democratic party of the old days. He said he was not in agreement with The Statesman in supporting most of the principles of the Republican party. But he proposed to vote for Harding and Stanfield next Tuesday, in order to return to a government under the constitution of the United States and to return the government of this country to the people who must live under it and pay its bills. In that far, he said, he was in accord with what The Statesman is advocating at the present time. The writer can testify that this old line Democrat has in years gone by been a stalwart in the service of his party. And he may be again, if his party gets back to the faith of its founders.

## EDITORIALS OF THE PEOPLE

### Oligarchy or Democracy.

Editor Statesman:

The United States professes to be a democracy—a government of the people, by the people and for the people. President Lincoln, in his first message to congress (July 5, 1861), defined a sovereignty to be "A political community without a political superior."

The 14th amendment to the constitution of the United States reads as follows: "When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice president of the United States, representatives in congress, the executive and judicial officers in a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such state, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state."

This provision is mandatory, applies to all of the 48 states; is impartial and non-sectional. But in the eleven southern states that passed secession ordinances and united to destroy this union in 1860-61, there were shown by the census of 1910 to be 5,841,000 male citizens of voting age, of whom 1,851,000 were colored men who are entirely disfranchised because of their race, and for no reason named in the constitution. While at least 1,000,000 white men from these states participated in rebellion seeking to destroy this government, 178,000 black men (more than 20 per cent of those who were of military age, nearly all of whom escaped from slave masters and came into army camps), enlisted and served as soldiers in the Union army. These ex-slaves proved their manhood wherever brought into the battle front, and their right to freedom and all the privileges of freemen. Thirty-eight thousand of them laid down their lives in battle or died of disease and accident while wearing the national uniform.

For more than 50 years there have been four fully organized regiments of negro troops—two of infantry and two of cavalry—in the regular army, and above 400,000 colored men served in the late world war.

All along the marches of the Indian campaigns since 1866, along the Mexican border, in Cuba, and in France, colored American soldiers sleep in lowly graves, killed while protecting the white race—they have never fought for or against their own race.

In 1865 the colored people of the United States numbered about 4,000,000; in 1910, 9,828,000, according to the census. In 1865 they were an illiterate mass and in homeless poverty. In 1910 70 per cent of those over nine years of age could read and write, and about 220,000 of them owned farms aggregating 16,000,000 acres and valued at $273,000,000, while 670,000 others operated rented farms aggregating 26,568,000 acres, valued at $617,000,000 Besides farms, there were carried on some 40,000 other enterprises—banks, stores, shops, factories, saw mills, cotton compresses, colleges, academies, etc. In brief, the homeless freedmen of 1865 were at the end of 45 years of freedom controlling and paying taxes on almost if not quite a round billion dollars worth of property, and exhibited a substantial progress in other ways that has no parallel in the history of any other people.

According to the census there were living in 1910 in those 11 states 7,831,000 negro people. As the ratio of representation in congress is one representative to every 211,877 of the population there are at present THIRTY-SIX white representatives in congress, and the same number of presidential electors about to be chosen, who represent those disfranchised colored millions. If the constitution was enforced those eleven states would lose that number of seats in the house of representatives and as many places on the electoral college, and Charles E. Hughes would now be president instead of Mr. Wilson.

Another notable fact appears from official records.

By a white male population of voting age numbering 3,590,000 in those states there were cast for president in 1916 only 1,870,209 votes, of which Mr. Wilson received 1,326,532. This was about 34 per cent of white legal voters, but they elected 22 senators and 104 representatives and gave Mr. Wilson 126 electors. The total number of votes cast was an average of only 14,843 ballots to each of the 126 electors chosen and fell as low as 9298 in Louisiana, 8615 in Mississippi, and 7059 in South Carolina. In the other 37 states the average of votes cast to each elector was 41,132. Mr. Wilson received 126 electoral votes from those eleven states and 151 from the other 37. That is, Mr. Hughes received 254 of those high, representative votes to Mr. Wilson's 151, but was defeated by the unconstitutionally chosen 36 electors representing disfranchised legal voters.

Let us compare certain typical northern states:

| | Voting age | Votes cast | Electors chosen | Average each. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ohio | 1,484,265 | 1,165,086 | 24 | 48,545 |
| Penn. | 2,209,026 | 1,297,097 | 38 | 34,131 |
| New York | 2,836,773 | 1,706,354 | 45 | 37,911 |
| Iowa | 662,672 | 516,495 | 13 | 39,730 |
| | | 4,685,032 | 120 | 39,041 |
| Oregon (woman suffrage) | | 261,340 | 5 | 52,268 |
| Washington (woman suffrage) | | 381,030 | 7 | 54,443 |
| Illinois (woman suffrage) | | 2,192,707 | 29 | 75,600 |

Note the average votes for each elector and compare with the average of 14,843 given the electors from the eleven states. The 4,685,032 votes elect 120 electors; against the choice of 126 electors by 1,870,000; 36 of those chosen being unlawful representatives.

In brief, one man in South Carolina weighs more in national affairs than five men in New York, six in Ohio, seven in Oregon or 10 in Illinois. The negro population of those eleven states is, in 1920, about 9,900,000, a population greater than that of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium or Bohemia; and it has a higher proportion of literacy than exists in Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Mexico, or any of the Central or South American republics, India or China, all of which peoples are now or are prospective members of the League of Nations.

Are we honest in our strenuous insistence that Albania ("half civilized mountaineers," "more devoted to robbery than to cattle rearing and agriculture"—in perpetual anarchy"—"every village at war with its neighbor"), Albania, Fiume, Bohemia, Egypt ("95 per cent of people illiterate"), and other regions shall enjoy "self-determination," while in one section of our own proud land is a compact body of our own citizens numbering 9,000,000 who have no voice in the local, state, or national government to which they must pay taxes, and must defend with their lives?

Shall the government of the other 105,000,000 of people under our flag be held in the grip of 36 men who in defiance of our national constitution hold seats in congress and the electoral college and thus decide our national policies? Is this United States of America a self-determining democratic sovereignty, or is it an oligarchy?

—Albert Loughridge.

### Is Not a Change Needed?

Editor Statesman:

They are saying there are a dozen gambling games running in Salem.

They are saying boys under age are freely allowed in the pool rooms.

They are saying there have been 48 robberies in Salem and no arrests.

They are saying that the city council would like to have a well regulated police force, but it is hard, under present archatic methods, to get any pep into the force.

They are saying that there are some good men on the police force, but that the force functions very poorly, leaving the city without good protection; at times without any protection.

Would it not be well to elect Verden Moffitt chief of police?

He is a young and vigorous man. He is clean, honest, industrious. His record is clean, too, notwithstanding some whispered slanders being circulated with a view to injuring his candidacy.

The voters would better think this over; better make inquiries for themselves. The time is short.

—Anxious Voter.

Salem, Oct. 28, 1920.

## BITS FOR BREAKFAST

Looks like 1896—

Only much more so.

Must have been a great sight, the big Republican parade on Fifth Avenue in New York city last night.

There is every indication that Oregon Republicans are tired of electing Democrats to the United States senate to represent the solid south.

A vote for Bob Stanfield is a vote for the protective tariff and prosperity for our Oregon farmers and producers, and steady jobs at good wages for all who want to work.

A vote for Chamberlain is a vote for bread lines and soup houses.

If you want to compete with Chinese and Japanese pauper labor, of course you will vote for Chamberlain.

Warren G. Harding will be the next president, by an overwhelming popular and electoral vote. He asks Oregon to elect a Republican senator. He does not want to be president without a congress to work with him. He says so himself. Will Oregon help elect Harding and give him no chance to redeem his promise?

The platform at the speaking at Silverton last night was full of men, of both parties, who have always voted for Chamberlain and who will vote against him next Tuesday. It is in the air. It is going to be a clean sweep, as it should be.


WM. FARNUM
In
"IF I WERE KING"
Starts Tues. at The Oregon

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To the Voters of Oregon!

The taxpayers of Portland and Multnomah County are not only willing but anxious to provide the Port of Portland with needed funds for dredging our River Channel to the sea. The Committee that formulated what is known as the Port of Portland and Dock Commission Consolidation Bill under the numbers 310 and 311 on the ballot insisted, however, upon weighting down the measure with an enormously expensive real estate scheme, and by a formal vote turned down the request of taxpayers that the Swan Island scheme and the River Channel scheme be presented as separate measures. Refusing to be forced to swallow something they cannot approve, Multnomah County is expected to vote adversely to the whole scheme by an overwhelming majority. Having done this, they will then be ready to vote for any needed amount for improving our River Channels. A Committee of the City Club has submitted a detailed analysis of the measure showing that it means an ultimate expenditure of at least $40,000,000.

Our Chamber of Commerce and other civic bodies with all of our river pilots and steamboat owners and others have protested against it. At least twelve former and present members of the Port of Portland and the Dock Commission have declared against it. A majority, if not all, of our City Commissioners oppose it. The Committee of 15 itself that drafted the measure is divided.

The Taxpayers of Portland Appeal to You

in a spirit of fair play to save this county from the imposition upon us of such an overwhelming and paralyzing debt as this measure contemplates. It would be deemed offensive if we gave expression to what we believe to be the selfish and ambitious political motives that have inspired the measure which is submitted with a distinctively deceptive title.

We simply appeal for fair play and a decent consideration of the hopeless plight in which this community will find itself if the measure carries. As citizens of outlying counties who will not have to pay a dollar of the debt imposed, we appeal to you to consider what would be your feelings if Multnomah County should try to impose a similar burden on you. Our interests in a general way are mutual.

It is our sincere judgment that the success of this measure will seriously retard, instead of promoting, the development of this port and that the state at large will in return suffer severely as a consequence.

Vote Measure Number 311 X No

Taxpayers Vigilance Committee
ROBT. J. LINDEN, Secretary
(Paid Adv.)